I: Karsten--266 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 411, 713 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros never use blowpipes and poisoned arrows in their wars, but only for hunting. They believe that if they kill a man with a poisoned arrow that poison will no longer do for killing an animal or bird of the forest. Besides, it seems that the poisoned arrows are not regarded as a sufficiently effective weapon to fight men with. The Indian, when killing his enemy, desires to inflict as large wounds and to shed as much blood as possible, a fact that explains his predilection for the lance as a weapon of war."

2: Stirling--85 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 713, 411, 777

"The blowgun is never used in warfare. The Jivaros say that it was given them for the purpose of obtaining game. To use it against man would bring bad luck.(22)"

"22. Figueroa, writing of the Mainas in 1665, specifically states that the blowgun and poison darts were never used against their human enemies. Skinner, 1805, p. 285."

2: Stirling --85-86 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 713

"The traditional war equipment of the Jivaro from earliest times has consisted of the lance and shield (pl. 28). Before the spear thrower was abandoned, a small lance or javelin was in common use. The ordinary name for lance is nangi, but ceremonially it is referred [86] to as shingi. It is made from the hard black wood of the chonta palm and as a rule is from 6 to 8 feet in length. The head is usually in one of two shapes; either diamond-shaped with a low ridge running down the center of each side and tapering to a cutting edge, or triangular in cross section without the cutting edges (pl. 14, a). At the present time lance heads of the former type made of iron are in common use (pl. 11, a). From a practical standpoint, these are unquestionably superior to the wooden lance, but the Jivaros believe that the all-chonta lances contain magical properties not possessed by iron, and therefore the more conservative Indians still prefer them for use in warfare. Until comparatively recently the Jivaros say that they used lances tipped with points made from the leg bones of the jaguar. In the seventeenth century Lucero spoke of lances fitted with points made from human leg bones. These seem to have been a smaller type of spear and probably represent the javelin which was formerly propelled by means of the spear thrower."

2: Stirling--86
116, 411, 713

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The use of the spear thrower appears now to be entirely forgotten by the Jivaros. Pigorini figures a spear thrower credited to the Murato. It consists of a straight stick tapering slightly from the butt to the tip. An inch or two below the tip a spur is attached apparently by means of binding made secure by the addition of some sort of wax or resin. The handle has a small perforation through it about an inch from the base through which a string is passed, evidently for the purpose of fastening the implement to the wrist. It is not dissimilar in general appearance to archeological specimens from the Peruvian highlands. (22)

Mortillet says that the javelin proper consists of a shaft 76 cm. in length made from a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia), which is smooth on the outside but filled with pith and unusually light in weight. One of the extremities is closed by a plug made of a resistant wood for receiving the spur of the throwing stick. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta point in the form of a very sharp prismatic prong about 22 cm in length. (23) "

"22. Pigorini, p. 46, pl. 1.
23. Mortillet, 1891, p. 241."

2: Stirling--86-87 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 411, 713

"The Jivaros call the shield pandara. Like the lance, it has apparently changed but little during the passage of the centuries. They are made from the large flat buttresses of the camusha (ceiba) (24) tree. These buttresses do not have a definite grain and therefore do not split or check easily. In addition, they are tough and light. The shields are circular in form and, although approximately 3 feet in diameter, are always made from a single piece. The shield is fabricated in such a manner as to make it appear to be composed of three [87] superimposed concentric disks, each about a half inch in thickness and each with a diameter approximately one-half that of the disk upon which it is superposed. Thus the center of the shield, while apparently somewhat thicker than the outer edge, is actually not as much so as it appears because of the concavity of the inner surface which is really in the form of a very much flattened cone. A hand grip of rattan is attached at the apex of this cone and is fastened in place by being pegged into three small holes made on either side of the central disc (pl. 28).

As a rule, the shields are painted with sua and achiote. The decorations usually represent animals or spirits designed to give power in warfare. The shield which the writer obtained from Hisama on the upper Chinganasa River had a design depicting Pangi, the anaconda; the moon, and the sun's rays. The round shield itself represents the sun.

"24. Bombax ceiva.

The shield, like the chonta lance, is supposed to contain tsarutama so that it is used for other purposes than for defence in fighting. Hisama carried his shield with him when night fishing, in order to ward off iguanchi. He stated that the shield was called upon frequently when it was suspected that evil spirits were in the vicinity, or that a rival wishinu was attempting to work harm through magical powers.

As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check.

Formerly shields were also made from the skins of the tapir and of the manatee, but this practice has apparently been abandoned."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(*wahe*) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl becomes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tampuñi* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tampuñi*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-

34:Harner, E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jivaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jivaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at